1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori.

776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
● [788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

793 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
796 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
791 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

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788 The sign
[1178] [1189] expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 776 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead.

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin.

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static, always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

582 /129 cont./
Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 582 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)

7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[188] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example. [191]

/271 cont./
844 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
574 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
789 to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes
[783] /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
189 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
[788] nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
[529] then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. ρμδ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all
[237] the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

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754 789 827 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success of someone, or on oneself (80)

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες Ο. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Βίβλοι VII 16Β.

[825] It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 755 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. 756 However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention [462] that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 788 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

[539] "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[539] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that 755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases. 755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox 824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

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[824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient
[263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by
[372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

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789 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new
[754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

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83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

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121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [181] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [184] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [183] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [188] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

789 562 472 [233] [791]

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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 554 182

Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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182 554 596 788 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

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representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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796 795 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
796 795 789 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which must be blessed--tsandiles, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining
[887] to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
[533] during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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771 811 197 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

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796 823 474 576 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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796 494 554 [188] [252] [596] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [176] [494] [554] [574] [182] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 982 494 596 796 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 955 982 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

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19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following: